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## LETTER

FROM

HON. EDWARD STANLY,  
"   
MILITARY GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA,

TO

COL. HENRY A. GILLIAM,

REFUTING CERTAIN CHARGES AND INSINUATIONS MADE BY  
HON. GEORGE E. BADGER, IN BEHALF OF THE  
SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

*Ans  
9/6*

NEW BERN, July 17th, 1862.

COL. HENRY A. GILLIAM:

*Dear Sir*—I received lately, by flag of truce, a copy of a long and elaborate epistle, directed to you, from my excellent and still much loved friend Mr. Geo. E. Badger. It is proper I should trouble you with some remarks to do justice to myself and to you. I fear I shall be tedious, but as I wish to be accurate, I must copy what I intend to contradict or correct.

Mr. Badger says, in the beginning of his letter, he would "*scarce*" be induced to believe me capable "of any wilful falsehood or baseness," on account of his good opinion of me heretofore. In familiar phrase, this is a compliment "over the left"—"darning with faint praise"—but I pass it by without retort. It is true I have loved him and his family very sincerely, and have cherished his good opinion of me. But I should regard myself as unworthy of the respect of any honorable man, if I could be driven from what I deem the path of duty by even the assurance that I could thereby secure forever his undiminished respect.

Mr. Badger says my position, as Military Governor, has run me into " manifold inconsistencies," and subjected me to "grave suspicions." The "suspicions" I can and do disregard. I submit to him, in his calmer hours—if he ever has them in these sad times—whether in writing of me, of one of his own blood, he had not as well omit such expressions? But as to the "inconsistencies," I utterly deny them. I contradict his assertion as positively as it can be done respectfully—for his unjust innuendoes cannot make me disrespectful. As an evidence of this inconsistency, he says that "winter" before last, he (Mr. S.) wrote me from San Francisco, and referring to the "then threatening prospect of our affairs, he said in substance, "if there is" to be a sectional contest in this country, my place is with North Carolina, "and when you (Mr. Badger) notify me that she needs my services, I shall" be there."

And Mr. Badger argues, I am inconsistent, because now I am with the enemies "of North Carolina—an army sent here for her subjugation."

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I challenge the production of the letter: I suppose Mr. Badger has the proof at hand. Let him produce it. I wish not to be guilty of the discourtesy of contradicting what he says, but I wish it distinctly understood, that if Mr. B. had charged that I said in that letter that Gen. Washington was a fool, Alexander Hamilton a jackass, and Webster a blockhead: because they entertained such opinions of our Government as Mr. Badger and myself had entertained: if he had charged that I had in that letter asserted that democracy was a heavenly institution, and that the resolutions of '98 and '99 contained the only sound doctrine of political faith, and that Jefferson was neither a hypocrite or demagogue, but a truth telling gentleman, he could not have more surprised me than he has by this assertion.

With all the confidence that memory justifies and respect allows, I contradict most positively the assertion that I ever used any language justifying the unjust construction he puts upon it. You and Mr. Badger, and all who know me, well know I ever held Secession and Nullification as Treason. I might well retort upon him and other estimable men—"stars shot madly from their spheres"—where are all your declarations, and thousands of speeches on Secession? Where are all your prophecies of the horrors of civil war, which Secession would bring on us? But Mr. Badger is disposed to tifle, when he refers to my "inconsistencies"—He knows,—no man knows better—I never tried to be consistent. I have always tried to do right, never thinking or caring whether friends or enemies would regard what I was about to do as being consistent with what I had previously done. Clay on the Bank; Webster on the Tariff; Calhoun on Internal Improvements; Badger on the Kansas and Nebraska bills, etc.—for and against it as reported to me, in the course of a few days, but afterwards magnanimously admitting he had done wrong in voting for it—who fears after these illustrious examples to be charged with inconsistency?

The history of that letter is this. Reverdy Johnson, on his way from San Francisco, to the Atlantic, in November, 1860, wrote to me from Acapulco, urging me to come to North Carolina, to do what I could to prevent the Secessionists from entangling her in the diabolical scheme of dissolving the Union. I wrote the letter Mr. Badger refers to, asking him if he thought I could be of any service. Service in doing what? Of course, in preventing the threatened mischief—the danger of involving us in the unimaginable horrors of civil war. So great was my confidence in him, I should have come, had he thought I could have prevented what has happened. I certainly never dreamed of coming for any other purpose. And no matter what are the words of my letter, his reply to me, which I have preserved in San Francisco, will show he then understood me, as I now assert, it was my intention to be understood.

So much for my "manifold inconsistencies."

Mr. Badger's remarks, about the "army of subjugation," I will not trespass by answering. I have done so elsewhere in public. If it is "subjugation," it is such as Washington, Marshall, Hamilton, Webster, Clay, and Badger have advocated and foretold, if ever such a contest arose, as has arisen.

Mr. Badger proceeds: "Again, according to your letter to Winston, Mr. Stanly admits, that the secession of this State, was at the time right."

If you so understood any remark of mine, I was altogether misunderstood. I never thought so. If I had, I should not have hesitated to say so. Mr. Badger says further:

"He (Mr. Stanly) admits that we cannot honorably secede from our position, whilst Virginia retains her's, and yet he comes here to induce us now to secede from it, which he confesses we cannot with honor do."

The answer is, that I never admitted any such thing. I never thought the conduct of North Carolina was to be influenced by that of Virginia, more than by that of South Carolina, or Tennessee. I never made any such confession.

Whatever Mr. Badger may have thought once of my integrity and honor, he could, "scarcely be induced" to think I had any sense left, if I had made all the admissions and confessions he seems to think I made.

Mr. Badger says further: "He (Mr. Stanly) thinks when Virginia returns 'to the Union, we may honorably return, and not till then: then why not 'postpone his attempts upon us, until Virginia returns.'"

Mr. Stanly "thinks" no such thing: never thought so, and therefore does not "postpone" trying what he can do, to relieve his native land from the horrors that threaten to overwhelm her.

Mr. Badger says: "But how does he make out, that we owe nothing in 'honor, to the other Confederate States.'"

Mr. Stanly, I answer, never denied that North Carolina owed as much to the other Confederate States as to Virginia. It would be amusing, at any other time, to see Mr. Badger thus making men of straw, and then using his giant's strength in destroying them. He shows prodigious skill in annihilating arguments I never made, and routing me from positions I never assumed.

It is obvious that from your account to him I was misunderstood. After I learned, on the morning after my arrival, in what circumstances you were here, I saw General Burnside, and succeeded in having you released from all suspicion of having given any cause of censure. Then I explained to you what my purposes were in coming here, because it might not be proper to write to any of my friends. While speaking to you of my hopes of peace for North Carolina, it was suggested by you nothing could be done during the impending conflict at Richmond. I felt the force of this, and said so; but remarked, after this is over, why cannot honorable terms be proposed and listened to? That by the Constitution of the Confederate States each one was sovereign and independent, and reserved a right to secede, and that North Carolina, I supposed, could inform her sister States what she intended to do. Further than this, I never admitted, even for argument sake, that North Carolina was bound in honor to wait the action of Virginia.

Mr. Badger adds: "Mr. Stanly seems to suppose there is a strong attachment amongst our people for the old Union, and a secret longing for a return to it. In this he is utterly mistaken; our people detest the North, and 'especially the six New England States.'"

I cannot yield, even to Mr. Badger, that he is better acquainted with the people in the counties I have visited than I am. He was never remarkable for his knowledge of the people, and always acted independent of their opinions, having more admiration of the aristocratic Coriolanus, than of the democratic Absalom, "who stole the hearts of the men of Israel" when he put forth his hand and kissed them. I do not "suppose," I *know* there is a strong attachment amongst our people to the old Union. I know there is not merely a "secret longing," but an openly expressed regret at the horrid calamities to follow the efforts of those who wish to prevent their return to it, and at the endless misery to follow if they are successful. And this feeling is not confined to counties where the forces of the United States are. I speak from accounts received from gentlemen altogether as reliable upon matters of fact as Mr. Badger is.

I know the people of North Carolina, if the wicked effort to destroy the Union could be successful, would never prefer to be a colony of Great Britain, as Mr. Badger has said she would, to being again united with even the six New England States.

The people of this good old State, now acting by the influence of a minority, down to a late period, "loathed in their souls" the idea of forming a Southern Confederacy, of which South Carolina was a member. Down to a late period the people of North Carolina, and with just cause, "detested" the State of South Carolina, whose leading men, our own great Gaston, in rebuking their sneers at our State, and condemning their secession doctrines

as treason, said, "would be the Catalines of the historian, and the Captain Bobadils of the poet."

Even if Mr. Badger were correct, it would be as easy when honor and interest alike demanded it, to lay aside the present as she did the former "detestation and loathing."

Mr. Badger does me the honor to notice a speech I lately made at Washington, North Carolina, and says; "That while I deny my purpose 'to insult' the people of North Carolina by coming here—a fanciful idea, and unworthy of him—he, Mr. Stanly, proposes to our people, to return to 'the old Union now, which he himself thinks we cannot with honor do.'" I answer I never thought or said any such thing; and if he will read all I said he will see I could not have thought so.

Mr. Badger's sneer at my "persuasions and reasons," I pass by without remark.

He proceeds and alleges, that I enforce compliance—"with my reasons for a return to the Union,—by threats of the punishment which awaits us, if 'we do not yield. Is not that to insult us?'"

*I threaten North Carolina with punishment! I who have served her faithfully, who inherited a devotion to her interests and honor, and have been as disinterested in my efforts for her welfare, as even he Badger can claim to be. I threaten her with punishment, while I have abandoned my private interests, my business, and the comforts of a happy home, to save her from the constantly accumulating horrors of civil war. I threaten her!*

I did not correct or revise this speech and have not a copy before me. Much of the language is not mine. I will not charge Mr. Badger with intentional misrepresentation, for to use his own words—"so deep is my conviction 'of his integrity and honor, I could scarce be induced to believe him capable of wilful' misrepresentation,—still such strange misconstructions of my opinions will subject him to 'grave suspicions,' of writing under strong excitement, and forgetting the friend, while he plays the advocate of a cause he has loathed and detested for many years of his brilliant and illustrious life.

Nothing could induce me to threaten North Carolina. I feared the additional troubles to come, if this war lasted, and thought it right to point out the danger—as he has done for many years—to befall those I loved.

Mr. Badger's attempted witticism of the "relative power of Hell and the United States," is unworthy of him. The language attributed to me was not mine. It is true, I did refer to the great power of the United States, who with all their exhibition of unparalleled ability to carry on war, were desirous of peace, and I mentioned what a military man, a foreigner, had said of the extraordinary achievement of the capture of the forts below New Orleans, which he had examined a few weeks before and gave his opinion they could not be taken.

And this too, is construed to mean "insult" to North Carolina!

The truth is, my excellent cousin had condemned me unheard, and upon this subject I am complained of with as little justice and fairness as the wolf in the fable complained of the lamb, for muddying the water. He had expressed his opinion before he knew my views, and like Dr. Sangrado, had written a book, and could not therefore change his opinion. It would have involved him in manifold inconsistencies. It was this foreigner who said, and not I, that when the people of the United States, made up their minds to do anything, all the powers of darkness could not prevent them. I need not repeat, that I have never "admitted" North Carolina was bound by her honor to maintain her present position.

Mr. Badger then proceeds to say, "Again Mr. Stanly denies that Yankees come to insult our women" \* \* But what does he say of Butler's "proclamation at New Orleans?—approved and sanctioned by the adminis-



"tration as it no doubt is, since no disavowal has been heard in the many weeks since that base and infamous paper was ushered to the world."

I am not the defender of Gen. Butler's conduct in that or in other respects. He is one of those party jugglers, who have been for years, agitating the slavery question, building political platforms, with laudations of the resolutions of 98 and 99,—the bitter fountain, from whence our present troubles flow. He is one of those long boasted friends of the South, that the democracy for so many years told our people could be relied on to fight for them against abolitionists. "These be thy Gods, O! Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."

But I never conceived it was the duty of the President to disavow every act of any General or other officer, by formal proclamation. If he did, he ought also to issue another, and commend Butler for hanging four men who robbed the house of a citizen of New Orleans. But I have never heard any Yankee officer express approbation of that proclamation.

Will Mr. Badger tell me what person in office, under the Confederate authorities, has expressed disapprobation of the villainous slander of Beauregard, charging the United States forces with coming in the South with "beauty and booty" as their watchwords? and this too when the wives and families of some of the leaders in the rebellion were living in these Yankee States!

When did any officer under Confederate authority disavow the barbarous conduct of their soldiers, in shooting pickets, and poisoning meats and wells—and in perpetrating numerous other enormities? I have not Butler's proclamation to refer to, and do not remember that I ever read it. But I learn from intelligent gentlemen connected with the army, that there were base creatures in New Orleans, having no respect for the decencies of life, who had provoked the soldiers by abusing them in the streets. Butler had issued an order, commanding all such wretches to be put in custody. Some respectable women forgetting themselves, had frequently indulged in terms of strong censure and insult calculated to provoke unrefined men in the army. Butler's proclamation was, as I learn, a threat, that those women if guilty of such conduct on the street should be treated "as women of the town," meaning thereby to have them also arrested, according to the previous order. I give this, as I received it, having inquired because Mr. B. asked so earnestly: "what does Mr. Stanly say of Butler's proclamation at New Orleans." If Butler's proclamation justifies Mr. Badger's interpretation I, like all the gallant officers of the army whom I have heard speak of it, would condemn it, as decidedly as he does.

No nation, no party is safe, if the unworthy conduct of one man brings censure upon all. It would be as unjust to accuse every officer of the army, of being an abolitionist, because General Hunter cut such a fantastic trick, the truth being, that his proclamation is condemned by every officer whom I have heard speak of it.

Mr. Badger then proceeds as follows: "Again, Mr. Stanly in the same speech, refers to Mr. Lincoln's disavowal of General Hunter's order, for 'freeing the slaves in his military district, leaving his hearers to suppose, that Mr. Lincoln's revocation of that order proceeded from his opposition to the measure of emancipation, whilst the reason assigned by him was that he reserved that matter to himself, and had committed it to no military commander, which if Mr. Stanly desired to give true and full information to his hearers, he ought to have mentioned, but did not.'"

It is hard to repress the expression in decided terms, of the indignation I feel, at reading such language as applied to me, even by Mr. Badger.

I have already said the published speech was not corrected by me. It was not reported by one practised in such matters, or by my request. But "evil communications corrupt good manners." Mr. Badger's association with traitors, to whom he now renders the respect, he thinks due to their

official stations, but for whom he has down to this "revolution," entertained nothing but contempt, makes him forgetful of the respect and charity due to a kinsman, and a friend, whose name has never yet been tarnished by an accusation from any respectable quarter, of being capable of withholding "true information" from the people who had honored him, and whom he honored. Mr. Stanly, tell him, "left his hearers to suppose" nothing; he spoke out fully all he thought, and all he feared. Mr. Stanly told the people in the most solemn and earnest manner, that the President's proclamation was full of meaning, that he evidently intended to give timely warning, that if this war continued, emancipation in some form might be inevitable. Tell him, if you see him, that Mr. Stanly distinctly told the people of Beaufort County, that if this war lasted another year, under what was called the "war power," emancipation he feared would be inevitable. I think I said the same thing to you. I know I have often to various other gentlemen.

I did not profess to agree with, or defend the political opinions of the President, or his Cabinet, nor those of the present Congress. But I said candidly what I believed their opinions were. In illustration I remember to have stated, there were nearly five thousand negroes in New Bern; that as the army advanced, they would come—that this could not be prevented—that to send them back by soldiers was forbidden by law—that I would promise protection to any loyal citizen, who, with his neighbors, would take his negroes home—and that the idea of being benefitted by the long talked of intervention of England and France was all a delusion and a snare, for that intervention would make matters worse by precipitating the horrors to which I referred, of emancipation, during the existence of a civil war. What I said was not spoken in a corner. It was spoken for public consideration. I have no objection that all I have said, or written, shall be published to the world.

If Mr. Badger has any respect for me, any desire to do me justice, I wish him to understand, I am as incapable of withholding "true information," especially upon matters of such inestimable importance, as I am of intimating that an honorable gentleman had done so.

Mr. Badger proceeds: "Again, Mr. Stanly assumed to execute the laws of North Carolina, when he closed the negro schools, yet he requires the oath of allegiance, according to his Washington speech, as a condition of surrendering to their masters their fugitive slaves. Now, what law of North Carolina makes a man's right to his property depend upon his taking any oath? And how does Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Stanly obtain authority to require such an oath? Therefore, the assumption of carrying out the laws of the State is illusory and means but this:—to follow the law of the State, when he likes, and set it aside when he dislikes it."

You perceive I make full extracts, that I may do no injustice.

Now it is not a fact, that I ever assumed, or thought of assuming, to "execute the laws of North Carolina." The whole statement arose in gross error, which has been corrected by the author of the report and published in papers which Mr. Badger has not seen. I did very decidedly condemn the teaching of slaves to read and write, for several reasons—which may hereafter be published—stating, also, that I came on a mission of peace, to conciliate the people of the State, and it would not strengthen their confidence in me if I were to begin by approving a violation of her laws.

It is not fair to charge that I required "the oath of allegiance, as a condition of surrendering to their masters their fugitive slaves." I have stated, the law forbade that soldiers should aid in restoring them, to any persons, whether they had taken the oath or not.

The only letter of instruction I received, directed me "to provide the means of maintaining peace and security to the loyal inhabitants" of the State. And therefore my power was limited, in promising protection to those who wished to reclaim their fugitive slaves. That is Mr. Stanly's "authority."

As to Mr. Lincoln's "authority," is Mr. Badger guilty of the absurdity



of arguing, that those who are trying to destroy the Constitution of the United States, and nullifying their laws, shall still claim protection of their armies, and demand a restoration of their slaves, to aid them in the abominable purpose of destroying the Government? Does he mean to contend that the President has no power or right to distinguish between loyal citizens and those in arms against the Government? No right to instruct public officers to protect loyal citizens and to withhold protection from public enemies?

Has not the Government of the so called Confederate States required any oaths of those who claim their protection? Are not good men every day dragged away and imprisoned, only for refusing to take such an oath—and for believing in the correctness of Mr. Badger's teaching, during many years, and as late as November, 1860?

Although I have no hope of convincing him of error, surely, after what I have said, he must admit, that when he charged me with the illusory assumption, of "following the law of the State, when I liked, and setting it aside when I disliked," he forgot not only what was just to me, but what was becoming in him."

After Mr. Badger has gone, as he says, "fully into the whole matter," after exhausting his great ability in answering arguments I never made, he condescends to refer to what he calls an instance of "stupendous Yankee lying." He refers to an editorial in the *Newbern Progress*, of 28th May last, professing to give an account of the proceedings of the North Carolina Convention.

I never saw the article to which he refers. I shall not take the trouble to look it up. But if Mr. Badger thinks that "stupendous lying" can be achieved only by Yankee editors, he is greatly mistaken. I have before me, the only number of that excellent paper, the *Fayetteville Observer*, that I have seen for more than a year. It is dated July 7th, 1862. On the third page, and sixth column, it copies an article from the "*Richmond Dispatch*," professing to give an account of a "fight between Maryland and Massachusetts Yankees."

The *Dispatch* says it is "highly important;" "thinks it may be relied upon." It states as follows:—

"A fight occurred in Newbern, in which Massachusetts and Maryland soldiers became involved. A regiment of each became engaged—300 of the New England men were said to have been killed, and 150 of the Marylanders. The disturbance arose about the negroes within their lines there. The Massachusetts men proposed to send a lot of them to Cuba for sale. It was opposed by the Marylanders. Since hearing the above, Mr. E. P. Latham confirms the report."

Mr. Badger, "if he desires, may get the paper and see." Now I assert I never before heard of this. I cannot find any officer, or private, or citizen, who ever before heard of it. There has been no dispute between any regiments, and no soldier has died except from sickness, or from wounds received in battle. "The whole statement is a fabrication out and out." And this is the material out of which public opinion is formed in this State!

I do not doubt that Mr. Badger speaks honestly his opinion of public sentiment in this State. I have the hardihood to differ with him. But whether that be so or not, it will not lessen the calamities of this horrid war. But the idea of my offering "insult" to the people of North Carolina because I am a citizen of another State: that it is a domestic affair, and that mine is a "foreign interference"—coming from any one else, I should say, was simply ridiculous.

I inherited the glorious birthright of being a citizen of North Carolina, under the Constitution of the United States. It is a right of inestimable value to me and to millions of my countrymen. It is a right I will not part with, with the blessing of God, if I can by any efforts or sacrifice secure it. The "denunciation of the press"—I have known it for more than a quarter of a century—whether of secession or abolition, I treat with contempt.—

I have lived long enough to know that the public favor which is run after is not worth having. With an unflinching trust in Divine Providence, supported by a consciousness of the purity and disinterestedness of my motives, no threats of fancied execration shall turn me aside from the path I intend to pursue. Mr. Badger intimates I am the "dope of a vile party." He may lay the flattering unction to his soul, that in this he is deceived. He will learn that I am prepared to resist the efforts of one vile party, more unflinchingly and successfully than he has those of another.

When Mr. Badger, in spite of his anger, is compelled to say—with some things I wish his remaining affection had suggested him to leave unsaid—that my "personal friends would duly estimate the purity of my principles," he arms me with resolution and comfort that ten thousand secessionists cannot destroy.

Mr. Badger thinks I have been tempted by the "glittering bait" of my present position to bring down censure upon an honored name. From him, this is the "unkindest cut of all." Will he allow his memory to run back a few years, when I was a younger man, when the whisperings of ambition told a flattering tale, when I set a higher value upon honorable public distinction than I now do—sobered, I trust, by experience and the better hope he has set me the noble example of cherishing—will he call to mind any occasion in which I ever hesitated to overrule any friend who sought to advance me, when I could by refusing a "glittering bait," elevate an honest and better man, more able to confer honor on our beloved North Carolina than I was? Cannot he remember the "glittering baits" of high position that I have refused when a citizen of North Carolina? I know he did not mean what he said, it was the graceful finish of a well turned sentence, "designed merely to point a moral, or adorn a tale."

I have no fear of being accused, if my name shall be remembered of having been tempted by "a glittering bait," to become "a dupe," I have more apprehension that the future historian of these terrible days, will express his regret, that he who at the bar, was the rival of Gaston, and Ruffin, in the Senate the peer and equal of Webster, Clay, and Crittenden, like them distinguished for great abilities, and for his devotion to the Constitution and the Union, and his abhorrence of Secession and Treason, beloved by all who knew him for his kindness of heart, and the spotless purity of his private life, that he, forgetful of his duty to his whole country, under a strange delusion, threw away a pearl "richer than all his tribe!"—his national reputation,—and was regarded in the latter years of his life as the Habakkuk Mucklewrath of Secession.

I am not alone in this apprehension. Many friends who were entitled to, and enjoyed his regard, now high in public stations and in private life, are filled with mortification, surprise, and sorrow, that one of the foremost men of modern times, should have so fallen from his high estate.

Mr. Badger says I am here "surrounded by Yankee bayonets." I could come here in no other way. Imprisonment in a dungeon but not in this state would have been my fate, had I attempted to have appealed as a private citizen, to the people of North Carolina to lay down their arms.

I am surrounded by bayonets in the hands of those who wish for peace who are contending to secure to every citizen of this State, all the rights and privileges that they are trying to secure for themselves. If I can have any assurance I could be allowed to have free and unrestricted intercourse with the people of North Carolina, to meet the chosen champions of Secession in public assemblages, I would not hold the position I occupy for another hour. It becomes not me to say how much of good I have done. Let the future speak in this world or the next. I have done violence and wrong to no man; but have tried to protect the helpless and relieve the suffering of the destitute, white and black. I cannot see what possible harm I can do, either to the State or to any good man in it.

Though I have felt hurt at some expressions in Mr. Badger's letter, I have written nothing in unkindness. I make all allowance for his feelings, always strong, sometimes, perhaps, ungovernable. I know he has written more in sorrow than in anger. He, and those dear to him, are and ever will be dear to me. And if I thought that any thing I had written would give him a pang,—though he would forget and forgive it—it would be to me a source of unceasing sorrow during the remainder of my life.

I have written more than you can read with patience. I need not apologize for doing so. Mr. Badger's letter was evidently an answer to my speech, which was not accurately reported. I had been misunderstood by you, as appears from his letter. His letter was forwarded too, under a flag of truce—sent for this special purpose—“*at the request of the Governor of North Carolina,*” by a “*Brigadier-General of the Army of Pamlico.*” It seems, therefore, this letter was written by the approbation of the public authorities and has reached the public ear, for it is commended by the *Raleigh Standard* in terms of high eulogy, such as the productions of Mr. Badger's pen have always merited. I ask only a fair hearing.

I shall pursue, while I can with honor and self-respect, the path my devoted affection for North Carolina, and my duty as a citizen of the United States point out to me. I shall continue my efforts, at least alleviating the inevitable suffering that always accompanies the march of an army, and animated by the hope that some occasion may arise in which my humble abilities may aid in the restoration of peace—honorable peace—indispensable to the welfare of the people of North Carolina, and desired, I confidently believe, by a large majority of them.

And though Mr. Badger and other honorable and most estimable gentlemen may hold out threats of the denunciations of the press, and the loss of their good opinion which I should deeply deplore, still I have the consolation of knowing that thousands of patriot gentlemen, North and South, their equals in position and in character, long honored by evidence of public confidence, sustain me by their approbation, and earnestly hope for the successful termination of my labors.

But above all, the still small voice of conscience, whispers in gentle tones, that I am doing nothing unbecoming an honest patriot: nothing that forbids the reasonable and holy hope, that my efforts may finally meet the approbation of Heaven.

Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD STANLY.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I have been waiting several days, for a flag of truce, that I might send a manuscript copy of this letter to Mr. Badger. In the meantime, another number of the *Weekly Raleigh Standard*, of July 23d, captured with several prisoners, has reached me, by which I see Mr. Badger has published a letter, written about the first day of June last, for and *at* me, though directed to Mr. Ely, of New York City.

I had too much regard for Mr. Badger, to mention to any one, that he had written such a letter; but without mentioning his name, in a speech made in Washington, N. C., on 17th June last, I commented upon the charges made by him against the Government of the United States.

It was chiefly in answer to this speech, that his letter to you was written. Now you have my answer to him. Can I hope for fair play!—that what is said, on both sides, will be published!

I have concluded there can be no impropriety in publishing what I have written.

I have but one request to make. You know Mr. Badger is my kinsman. Our fathers were friends, before either of us was born. I cannot carry on a personal controversy with him. If he is to be the Hector of this horrible war, let his pen be used, under the name of some cat's paw of the Confederate authorities. If he—at present safe in the interior, but forgetful of the losses, sufferings and dangers to befall those inhabiting the Seaboard Counties,—if he will prostitute his talents, in trying to intimidate all who wish for honorable peace; so far as the cause is concerned, I ask no favors. Let him furnish arguments and words, for some other man. I ask this in kindness. I desire to be free to reply, when provocation is given, in such terms as my antagonist may deserve. There are so many memories, of the dead and of the living, which I could not and would not forget, associated with his name, I am exceedingly averse to an unkind controversy with him. If he must write, let him reason with power and assert with confidence—no man can do so better—and I do not shrink from the controversy. The cause that I defend is strong even in my hands. But if he writes to, or of me again, I hope he will lay aside his railing, his accusations, and his idle attempts at intimidation.

EDW. STANLY.





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